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UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

TO A TOWN POET.

"Snatch the departing mood;
Make yours its emptying reed, and pipe us still
Faith in the time, faith in our common blood,
Faith in the least of good;
Song cannot fail if these its spirit fill!

"What if your heritage be
The huddled trees along the smoky way;
At a street's end the stretch of lilac-sea;
The vendor, swart but free,
Crying his yellow wares across the haze?

"Your verse awaits you there;
For Love is Love though Latin swords be rust;
The keen Greek driven from gossiping mall and square;
And Care is still but Care
Though Homer and his seven towns are dust.

"Thus Beauty lasts, and lo!
Now Proserpine is barred from Enna's hills,
The flower she plucked yet makes an April show,
Sets some town sill a-glow,
And yours the Vision of the Daffodills.

* * * *

"Strait is the road of Song,
And they that be the last are oft the first;
Fret not for fame; the years are kind though long;
You, in the teasing throng,
May take all time with one shrewd lyric burst.

"Be reverend and know
Ill shall not last, or waste the ploughèd land;
Or creeds sting timid souls; and naught at all,
Whatever else befall,
Can keep us from the hollow of God's hand."

—*Lizette Woodworth Reese.*

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UNITY

"HE HATH MADE OF ONE ALL NATIONS OF MEN"

Vol. LXXXIII. THURSDAY, MAY 1, 1919 Number 9

WHERE ANGELS FEAR TO TREAD.

A young angel of distinction being sent down to this world on some business for the first time, had an old courier spirit assigned him as a guide. They arrived over the seas of Martinico, in the middle of a long day of obstinate fight between the fleets of Rodney and De Grasse. When through the clouds of smoke he saw the fire of the guns, the decks covered with mangled limbs and bodies dead and dying, or blown into the air, and the quantity of pain, misery, and destruction the crews yet alive were thus with so much eagerness dealing round to one another, he turned angrily to his guide and said:

"You blundering blockhead, you are ignorant of your business; you undertook to conduct me to the earth and you have brought me into hell."

"No, sir," says the guide, "I have made no mistake; this is really the earth, and these are men. Devils never treat one another in this cruel manner; they have more sense, and more of what men (vainly) call humanity."

Benjamin Franklin.

"My earnest conviction is that military intervention in Russia would be an act of the greatest stupidity." This is the statement not of a pacifist, a Bolshevik or a pro-German, but of no less a man than Premier Lloyd George of England. Speaking before the House of Commons on April 16th, he declared that it was a fundamental principle of British foreign policy never to interfere with the internal affairs of other countries. "The government of Russia," he said, "is a matter for the Russian people." That this assertion will have any influence upon the interventionists in this country is not to be imagined. These men care nothing for principles or facts; and certainly do not propose to give heed to anybody who disagrees with them, no matter how well-informed or experienced he may be. Nor do the resources of their minds suggest any other method of meeting the situation than that of rifles and machine guns! Therefore may we expect their clamor to ring as shrilly through the land as ever. But it will be all in vain. The American people, like the English people, have no intention of embarrassing the Russians, in their struggles for liberty and order, by interference. And even if political principle did not forbid this, our practical-mindedness would veto an undertaking which would be certain to land us "in bankruptcy," as Lloyd George warned the Commons. Whatever may be our future policy toward Russia, armed intervention will have no part therein.

J. H. H.

The absence of hate from the heart of the true soldier has been demonstrated by a thousand episodes and testimonies during the course of the Great War. No more convincing or lovely proof of this impressive fact has come to my attention than that contained in a letter published in the New York *World* on April 13th. Signed Lieut. Marcel Jousse, S. J., it reads as follows:

> I read in your issue of April 10 an account of my discourse at the Hotel Biltmore in aid of the devastated churches in France, and I was extremely surprised and grieved to learn that you placed on my lips the phrase, "Hell to the souls of Germans."
>
> The "fighting priest" of France, whose first absolution during the battle of the Marne was administered to a dying German soldier, as I announced during my lecture, could hardly be so inconsistent as to utter sentiments so utterly opposed to his sacerdotal character.
>
> Like every good Frenchman and American, I hate German war methods, but all human souls are inexpressibly dear to me, and to save them—no matter what their nationality—I would joyfully sacrifice my life.

J. H. H.

Why is it that men cannot see that force is a two-edged sword? Why are we so slow to recognize that the very argument which we offer to justify the use of violence against our enemies, is the same argument which they in turn use to justify the use of violence against ourselves? Here, for example, is Isaac F. Marcosson, a highly intelligent writer and lecturer, declaring, "If we in the United States are to profit by Kerensky's mistake, we will meet new forces of evil with the forces of might. The American Bolsheviki, otherwise the I. W. W., need the firing squad instead of the Federal inquiry." Is it possible that Mr. Marcosson cannot see that it is precisely this statement of the case which may persuade, and perhaps has already persuaded, the I. W. W. agitator to violence? The existing social system is to him the "forces of evil," and against such "forces" he is told that it is right to use "the forces of might"! Why not, therefore, light his torch and throw his bomb? Why not profit by example, and direct against his enemy, the weapon which this enemy is lifting against himself? A two-edged sword, indeed, is this argument for force! Our champions of law and order might be more careful of their speech, if they realized how often the "Reds" do unto others the things which are done unto them.

J. H. H.

The whole truth about the use of violence in social disputes, is revealed in the simple statement that force is always the resort of weakness. It is the weapon of the minority. A government which has to sustain

itself by clubs and bayonets, is a government which has lost the support of its people. An industry which has to hide its factories behind iron fences and armed guards, is an industry which is outraging the many for the profit of the few. Reformers who resort to terrorism for the accomplishment of their ends, are men who have not convinced the community of the need or desirability of their ideas. Always is force the sign of weakness, not of power; of fear, not of confidence; of selfishness, not of love. The strong man is content to wait for reason and goodwill, like the stars, to do their certain work. J. H. H.

Dr. W. E. Orchard of London is again lifting up his voice in behalf of the conscientious objectors in England. "Is all the conscience of this country in prison," he asks, that these men should still be subject to arrest, trial and imprisonment? The notable petition in their behalf, signed by many of the most distinguished and influential men of the Kingdom, has apparently had no effect upon the government. "It is obvious," says Dr. Orchard, "that this government will not act unless it is faced either by Labor threats or immense public unrest." In this country, the situation still remains unaltered. On my desk lies a list of 356 religious conscientious objectors who have been imprisoned at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. Of these, 229 were still confined on March 10th last. New reports of cruelty and torture have recently come to light, and are now under investigation by the War Department. "Is it revenge and fear that are paralyzing the conscience of the country?" asks Dr. Orchard —a question as pertinent in the case of America as of England! J. H. H.

From Stanton Coit's Ethical Church, in London, comes a handsome souvenir edition of "The Ethical Message." It is a welcome reminder of the beauty of this church, and its distinctive contribution to the religious thought and life of modern times. The Community Church movement, now appearing everywhere in this country, owes more to Dr. Coit and his coworkers than is commonly realized. It was they who struck the note of a new church, rising out of the needs and desires of modern social life, and expressing not the ancient traditions but the modern hopes of the race. Conspicuous always in Dr. Coit's teaching has been the idea of nationalism, taken over from Sir John Seeley. This nationalistic concept has been strangely altered by the events of the last four years. Just how Dr. Coit will now present the issue, whether with greater or less emphasis, is an interesting problem for the future. J. H. H.

The Dark Ages Again?

In a letter from a young man in Paris, an incorrigible pacifist, appears the sentence: "Isn't it awful to have been so right about the War!"

Just what this young man is referring to may be uncertain, for the pacifists had judgments on various aspects of the European struggle. When we remember, however, that he has been in France during all of the last two years, has seen at first hand the indescribable horror and destruction of the Great War, and is now gazing every hour upon the chaotic welter of after-war conditions, we may at least surmise that he is thinking of the contention of the pacifists, voiced early in the conflict, and never altogether silenced, that the continuance of the War would mean the end of European civilization, and that hostilities therefore should be brought promplty to a close without regard to victory or defeat on either side. No good can come out of the prolongation of this struggle, was the pacifists' word. The fate not of any one nation or set of nations, but of all Europe, is hanging in the balance. To get both sides to lay down arms, and to unite in the common task of rebuilding an ordered world, this is the one essential thing, if civilization is to endure!

In December, 1916, for example, Mr. Bertrand Russell addressed a letter to President Wilson, in which he appealed to him to use his utmost endeavors to end the War at once. After recounting the terrifying conditions in Europe even in that comparatively early day, he wrote, "There is a very real danger that, if nothing is done to check the fury of national passion, European civilization as we have known it will perish as completely as it perished when Rome fell before the barbarians." And again: "Above all, I see that none of the issues in the war are as important as peace; that harm done by a peace which does not concede all that we desire is as nothing in comparison to the harm done by the continuance of the fighting. . . . In the name of Europe, I appeal to you to bring us peace."

In an article published in February, 1917, Romain Rolland said somewhat the same thing:

> "Who today," he cried, "can stop the war? Who can drive the unleashed ferocity back into its cage? Not even those who let it loose, the trainers who well know they will be devoured! The blood has been drawn; it must be drunk! Intoxicate thyself, civilization! But when thou art gorged . . . wilt thou recover? . . . After so much suffering, I fear that fatal day when, in the collapse of lying hopes, in the recognized nonsense of vain sacrifices, the people, worn out with misery, will seek blindly on what, on whom, to avenge themselves. Then they, too, will fall into injustice, and will be stripped by excess of misfortune, even of the funereal halo of their sacrifice."

It was with this same fear upon my heart that I spoke to my people as early as September, 1915, words that were described as grossly extravagant by one of our ablest and most influential public men here in

America. Speaking of the continuance of the War, I said:

> What the end will be, no man can say. That kings will be dethroned, kingdoms fall, great powers lapse to degeneracy and decay, beneficent works of social construction crash to ruin, the progress of centuries in human strength, efficiency and happiness be undone, is certain. And beyond this, as not unthinkable possibilities, are the exhaustion of available wealth, the collapse of the economic fabric of civilization, the depopulation and waste of Europe beyond the repair of generations, the reduction of the world to the condition of Germany during the Thirty Years War, when half the people of the Empire perished of hunger or the sword, and the rest wandered through field and forest like wolves in quest of prey.

If the uttermost of waste, misery and death has not been realized from the War, it is no fault of the militarists. Glibly and gladly were they talking, only a few weeks before the armistice, of the struggle going on for another four, or perhaps even five, years. The pacifists were hated for nothing so much as their insistence that the war should be stopped at any price that would save some remnant of happiness and beauty to the people of Europe. President Wilson at no time encountered stouter or more bitter opposition than that which rose up against him when he undertook heroically, and thank God successfully, to secure an armistice in November of last year. "On with the war"—"unconditional surrender"—"to the bitter end!"—these were the slogans of the hour. And we now see to what "bitter end" they would have brought us! Whether, indeed, we have even now stopped in time—whether the fight was not actually carried on to a point at which recovery is impossible—is still an open question. For look at Europe at the present moment!

Vast areas of the fairest country in the eastern hemisphere as waste as the Sahara, and as untenanted as the moon! Thousands of cities and towns and villages, formerly inhabited by busy and happy peoples, now shattered into dust that no longer bears the stamp of man's passing footsteps. Seven and a half millions of Europe's finest and fairest youth, dead and buried on blasted battle-fields. Other and greater millions of men, women and children, in every country, belligerent and neutral alike, perished of famine, pestilence and massacre. Other and still greater millions languishing at this instant of starvation and disease. Two hundred thousand people are dying every month in Russia, says Mr. Hoover, for lack of food. A traveler returned from Austria testifies that seventy per cent of all infants are ten-month children, and are born dead. In Serbia, it is credibly reported, there are no children any more under three years of age. In Germany a whole population subsists on a ration inadequate for a dog, and faces the immanent possibility of starvation.

Added to this is the breakdown of government, the collapse of the whole structure of modern social life. Through vast areas of eastern and central Europe, political civilization has entirely disappeared, and the primitive condition of tribal barbarism taken its place. Industrial civilization is similarly disintegrating. Factories are idle, railroads rotting to pieces, vast hordes of the unemployed sitting idly in sodden misery or swarming in mad revolt. Wars, both international and civil, are raging on every hand—no less than fourteen different wars, in which heavy artillery was being used, were going on in Europe a month ago! Cities which have not known violence since the days of Napoleon, are become battle-fields between contending armies; and railroad stations, newspaper offices and city halls become citadels of attack or defense. The red riot of revolution sweeps from town to town, from nation to nation, dragging whole populations into the agonies of internecine savagery and giving promise to the world of that deeper and darker plunge from international warfare to social dissolution and class conflict. Only where armies of occupation stand guard is there quiet; and in neutral countries martial law is the condition of survival!

And everywhere within, to match the outward spectacle of disaster, are bitterness, hate, indifference to life, the lust of blood, despair!

The War has done its perfect work! Another four years would have ruined Europe forever. The four years already endured have made at least possible another period of Dark Ages longer and blacker than that which followed upon the fall of Rome.

To save mankind from such calamity, what forces are available?

The Peace Conference? Yes—if this gathering had acted promptly and wisely. If it had seized at once upon the situation, with intent not of aggrandizement for itself and vengeance upon the enemy, but of salvation for all peoples together—and forever. But who can look upon the record written since the New Year, and find one thing which this twentieth-century edition of the "Congress of Vienna" has accomplished, or even suggested, to the end of rescuing the peoples of Europe from political, industrial and moral ruin? The League of Nations, now in prospect, is as innocuous as it is inadequate, a feeble attempt of the Allied powers to hold and organize for their own advantage the conquests which they have made! The Peace Treaty, unless all signs are deceptive, is built not in fidelity to principles of justice and fair-dealing, but in compromise of the conflicting jealousies and ambitions of competing imperialistic systems! The Russian fiasco, the German blockade, the Fiume wrangle—what a story! The Peace Conference has paltered and plotted where it should have healed and reconciled. It has been paralyzed by the fears and passions of governments, instead of galvanized by the miseries and woes of peoples. Not by such an agency is Eu-

rope to be saved, unless it does at the end what it has failed to do from the beginning.

Labor? Yes, here is a force more intelligent and generous than diplomacy. It was the opinion of Oswald Garrison Villard, after visiting the International Labor Conference at Berne, that, if he could make choice between the Labor Conference and the Peace Conference for the settlement of the affairs of Europe, he would unhesitatingly select the former. One needs only to read such a document as the platform of the British Labor Party, to understand what labor would do with the present situation, if it had the power. But where, in the Allied countries, has labor got any such power, or any prospect of securing it in time to take control of continental affairs? In England, the triumph of labor seems near, and under conditions most favorable to constructive enterprise. But it is conceded that the transfer of authority cannot, or will not, come, until after the fate of Europe has been sealed.

America?—here is our last resort! If darkness and death fall upon European peoples, civilization may find here a refuge. And it may be that, by the favor of our position and opportunity, we can yet bring to Europe that newness of life and spirit which can alone save her in this terrific hour. It is this, certainly, which President Wilson has been striving, in pathetic loneliness and with sublime courage, to bring to his Allies in their own despite. And if he fails, there may still remain to us, the people of America, the chance to bring succor and guidance to Europe, when this failure has brought its inevitable fruitage of misery and woe. Great is our opportunity—and great as well our responsibility! If civilization is to endure, it may be through us; and if through us, it must be through that chivalry of spirit, and that high wisdom of patience and goodwill, which are ours as a free democracy.

"Isn't it awful to have been so right about the war!" The pacifists have no heart to boast. They are the first to weep, as they were the first to prophesy, what has befallen. And now also would they be the first to save the situation, and thus disprove their own foreboding! And yet not disprove! For if the world is to be saved, it must be by that Love which alone is Life, and therefore "is ever Lord of Death."

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

"I am convinced myself that there is no more evil thing in this present world than Race Prejudice; none at all. I write deliberately—it is the worst single thing in life now. It justifies and holds together more baseness, cruelty and abomination than any other sort of error in the world."—*H. G. Wells.*

CONTRIBUTED

He reaps dire harvest who sows dragon's teeth!
When Law is silent, anarch Murder rules;
Law is humanity's consummate flower,
And Love is the fulfillment of the Law.
Its blind and brute denial, that is War,
The Laws of War! In war, there is no law,
Where war is not, there and there only—Law.

D. S. J.

Laws of War

One cause of the relative impotence of International Law is that it has endeavored to include within its scope operations which are, at the best, absolutely lawless. Under International Law, nations at war, whatever the cause and whatever the degree of criminality of the law-breaker, are treated alike as "belligerents" and no violation of previous agreements affects this standing so far as neutrals are concerned. It would be a parallel conception to treat a burglar and householder as alike belligerents, governed by prearranged code of details. The Laws of War may be for the advantage of the most unscrupulous belligerent who breaks them with impunity while its antagonist is restrained by respect for agreements and by public opinion—on which all law finally rests.

The very conception of "Laws of War" involves an incongruity. To attempt to reduce war to law is to legalize it, and International Law which embraces war as an orderly possibility is self-destructive. No doubt certain abatements of the ferocity of war may be made possible through international agreements as to humanity in warfare such as were adopted at The Hague in 1899 and 1907. But these conventions cannot rise to the level of International Law, for there is no way of making them universal. Moreover, if successful, they would merely serve to make the greatest incubus from which the world has suffered seem a few shades less abominable than its character deserves.

DAVID STARR JORDAN.

Secret Diplomacy or the Fourteen Points?

The statement of President Wilson, made in Paris on April the 23rd, is exceedingly grave; and all those who have been patiently waiting for the policy of the Fourteen Points to triumph may not only see all their hopes dashed to the ground, but view the wreck of the Paris Covenant, which many had hoped would prove in time an effective substitute for a World League. Now what is it that has brought about this extraordinary situation in Paris? Nothing more or less than the conflicting aims of the Allies as they are set out in the secret treaties. The readers of UNITY have been in the position for some months to estimate pretty accurately what has been the underlying difficulty of the delegates to the Conference, for UNITY has constantly pointed out the dangers of diplomatic quarrels among the Allies, dangers which now assume a gravity little appreciated by the man in the street. Mr. Wilson in his statement tells us quite clearly that America had no knowledge of the London Treaty which was made when Italy entered the war. We have always held the view that Mr. Wilson could not have known of the existence of this treaty before April, 1917; otherwise he would not have committed America to a joint partnership with certain European

powers in a policy of aggression. No one who read his speeches two years ago could have imagined that they were made by a man conscious of the existence of such a treaty as that the European Allies made with Italy.

It may be said that the quarrel is about the port of Fiume, and that the Pact of London definitely assigned Fiume to Croatia; but there is more in it than that; more, indeed, than has appeared so far in the public prints. We hear a great deal about the Dalmatian Islands, but little about Northern Epirus, where, opposite to Brindisi, Italy seeks territory which belongs to the Greeks. There are other points, moreover, which must be considered at this time; for instance, Italy's claims to some of the islands of the Greek Archipelago. It is difficult indeed to think of a part of Europe and Asia which is entirely free from the claims of annexationists. Only a fortnight ago the *Manchester Guardian* dealt pretty generally with the vast problems secret diplomacy is now concerned with. It said:

> The common policy of the Allies was necessarily partition, and the division among themselves of the spoils.
>
> This policy was expressed in a secret treaty made in the spring of 1916, which not only divides up the heritage of the Turk, but divides up with equal ruthlessness the subject nationalities who should have been its successors. There is not a sin against the principles of the Allies which is not committed by this unhappy pact. It had the further disadvantage of bearing many marks of haste, ignorance and vagueness. As the war progressed, two new factors presented themselves. Russia, after the Revolution, repudiated the secret treaty and renounced all part and lot in it. The United States entered the war in the name of liberty and nationality. Of the two remaining signatories of the treaty of 1916, Great Britain was the first to appreciate the change and to seek a new road. British policy definitely came to the conclusion that the reconstruction of the Near East must be governed by the principles of nationality, and that pillars of the new structure must be a restored Jewish Palestine, a revived Arab state, and a liberated Armenia. France has been much slower to respond. French diplomacy was dissatisfied with the treaty of 1916, on the ground that it gave France less than she ought to have. True, the French foreign office contended that Syria demanded a French protectorate. There are undoubtedly some Syrians who do, but the integral Syria which the argument assumed to exist had no historical, geographical, economic, political or racial ethnic reality, while the Syrian Committee in France was far from representative. As a consequence of its attitude the French foreign office tended to clash with the Jews in regard to Palestine and the Arabs in regard to Syria. In both cases England is concerned, for the Jewish people demand that the mandate for a Jewish Palestine shall be given to Great Britain, while England has made certain pledges to the Arabs. Recently the French government has withdrawn its opposition to a Jewish Palestine, but the dispute with the Arabs is still unsettled. Territorially it is a dispute over the possession of Damascus and Aleppo. Two or three weeks ago the Paris Conference thought to solve this riddle by sending an Inter-Allied Commission to Syria to ascertain local opinion. Not unnaturally the French have objected to this course, for they contend that it is utterly impracticable to ascertain what the Syrian population thinks politically, while the mere attempt at an inquiry may unsettle the whole East. What they urge is that the whole question of the limits of the various mandates should be settled at once in Paris.

Our minds ought to be quite clear about the vexed question of mandatories, for this may very easily work out in practice to be the old system of spheres of influence, the bane of the nationalist, and the paradise of the concessionaire. We have no faith in the mandatories to be set up by the European Allies; certainly, the peoples themselves in the backward districts have no faith in them, as we have repeatedly heard of late from Paris. Now this question may soon assume grave aspects, and be the cause of provoking more quarrels, not only among the Allies, but among the people of the Mussulman world.

Mr. Wilson has evidently put his foot down and does not intend to lift it until he gets the kind of peace all forces agree to: all the Allies and all the Teutonic powers. That peace was to be one based on the Fourteen Points, the only peace that would make a League of All Nations possible. If Italy, when she agreed at the time of the armistice to such a peace, had no intention of subscribing to it, hut hoped that the Pact of London would be carried out, then she has no one to blame but herself, and must thank her policy of double-dealing for her present plight. But the other Allies, Great Britain and France, agreed to a peace based on the Fourteen Points. And now we learn from London that both these Powers are prepared, if Italy insists, to honor their signatures given to the Pact of London. It is a highly discreditable state of affairs.

We are amazed at Mr. Wilson's patience. He has undoubtedly striven against innumerable difficulties, the jargon and dishonesty of the old-time diplomacy, all the nefarious cross-currents of secret pacts; endured with a patience that seemed often enough to reach beyond the breaking point. And now that he has at last determined to have his way if a peace worth having is to be made, he ought to have the whole-souled support of the American people behind him.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

An Exhibit

Published regularly in this country every month is a certain magazine for American soldiers, called *Treat 'Em Rough*. The man behind this paper is Guy Empey, himself a soldier, and author of "Over the Top." Those who have read this book, or witnessed Empey's later feats upon the lecture platform, have some idea of the kind of literary fare which *Treat 'Em Rough* is offering to its readers. Any full appreciation, however, must wait upon a survey of the magazine itself. As a suggestion of what may be found between its covers, we append the following:

(March, 1919.)

> If a person, in your presence, should insult the American flag, what would you do? No doubt, for the benefit of the community, you would help dig his grave.
>
> Do not become a Bolshevist. If you feel like fighting, go out and smash a Red—it is a great sport knocking them off soap boxes.
>
> We will get you a job and perhaps tide you over financially in exchange for a Bolshevist scalp.
>
> The Fifth Liberty Loan drive will soon be here. Make a Bolshevist or an "I. W. W." buy one of those bonds, and believe me, from that time on that fellow is going to support Uncle Sam, and, if necessary, fight for him. If you cannot, after very patient endeavor, sell him then show him what it means to get a good Yankee wallop in the nose.
>
> The parlor Bolshevist, however, is only aiding in the disseminating of highly dangerous catch-phrase ideas. Himself harmless, he carries the germs of this world-wide economic plague as a fly spreads bacteria.. Swat the fly!
>
> There is only one way of handling this disturber. Ask him what he is driving at. Find out his object. If you are up against it financially, ask him to lend you some money; test out his sympathy—see if it is real. If you are looking for work, ask him if he can give you a job, or direct you to where you can secure employment. You will find by his evasive answers that he is not there to help you; that he is simply trying to make you more discontented and unhappy.

Then back him into a corner (there is no danger in this—he won't fight—none of them will), take him by the throat with your left hand, haul back that good Yankee fist of yours and preach to him true Americanism. He will squeal like a pig. But don't listen to his squealing, just let him have it between the eyes.

(April, 1919.)

This speaker, instead of being arrested and given a chance to gain his freedom by putting up as bail a few paltry dollars, thus being enabled to further spread his treason, should be executed by a firing squad composed of men in uniform. The staff of this magazine—and some of us are pretty good shots—would be only too willing to volunter for such a firing squad, and I know that every true-thinking soldier, sailor or marine would do the same.

It is the duty of every red-blooded American, whether in uniform or not, to destroy these vermin. A good, right-handed swing on the jaw will do more in two minutes to convince the soap-box orator that he is wrong than all the coddling and misdirected attempts at education that can be instituted.

Fix bayonets.

Treat 'Em Rough offers a Croix de Guerre to every soldier, sailor or marine who will bring in a Bolshevist who does not need a shave or a haircut, but you will have to play square in this. It's against the rules to force him into a barber shop.

It is not a pretty way, but neither Prussianism nor Bolshevism is a pretty thing. One has been killed, and the other is going to be—by the bayonet if necessary, by machine guns—but certainly destroyed.

It is worthy of note that *Treat 'Em Rough* has not been denied the use of the mails, and that its editor has not been arrested for inciting to violence. One wonders if it is the thing said, or the person who says it, that moves the law to act!

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

"NON SUM QUALIS ERAM."

["Officers holding commissions in the Special Reserve will be demobilised; officers holding commissions in the Territorial Force will be disembodied."—Army Order.]

I walks about like other men,
  I eats my wittles hearty,
I takes a drink, well, now and then,
  Like any decent party.
In fact my whole adherence is
  To ways of normal folks;
And yet despite appearances
  I'm just a hollow hoax.

Now note the difference—I've a pal
  (No greater wit or nerve);
But I'm a Territorial,
  While he's in the Reserve.
But he (it cannot be disguised
  That Justice must have nodded)
Is decently demobilized,
  While I'm just disembodied.

It ain't the sort of attitude
  Of which to make a boast—
You can't pretend it's gratitude
  To make a man a ghost.
At duty's call, forsaking ease,
  The patriot's path I took—
And all the Army leaves of me's
  A disembodied spook!

From the Manchester Guardian. —*Lucio.*

"No splendid tree could fall, without opening up more light in the forest, and no noble soul could leave without letting in more of the sunlight of heaven."—*R. C. Cabot.*

News from Europe

The British Labor Party and Armaments.—

At the conference of the British Labor Party, held in London to consider the Paris amendments to the covenant of the Allies, there were much deep thinking, bitter opposition and earnest, straightforward speaking. The methods of the Paris delegates were severely denounced, and the results of the long, tedious conferences of the Allies were regarded as anything but satisfactory.

Mr. J. H. Thomas, M. P., moved the following amendments to Article 8 of the League Covenant:

(1) That no armies should be raised by conscription.

(2) That as "geographical considerations" carry with them policies of national defense by rival armaments, their mention in this article assumes a military menace, which the League of Nations ought to remove and not encourage.

(3) That the manufacture of armaments should be under the direct control of the League, as well as whatever forces are necessary for police purposes.

(4) That, as there is no real security for peace which does not include national disarmament, a declaration to that effect should be included in this article.

The abolition of conscription everywhere, Mr. Thomas argued, was the essential condition of the destruction of militarism, which was the real driving force behind all aggressive war. Everyone who supported the war did so in the belief that militarism would have to be crushed everywhere—not crushed in Germany and substituted in England. They did not mean to free the people of the Central Powers, only to find themselves slaves to the same system Great Britain went out to fight. There must be some general agreement to abolish conscript armies everywhere. Whether conscription was adopted in England or not must not be left dependent upon what was done in any other country.

The whole question of armaments was bound up with the kind of peace that was established. "If the Allies are going to claim the right to interfere with the internal affairs of other nations, then we shall have to stand the consequences, even if it is conscription. Whatever differences there may be as to the Russian form of government, there is no difference amongst organized Labor that the form of government there must be the affair of the people of that country alone. We here have no right to dictate to any people what their form of government should be. If we are going to claim the right to divide Central Europe among the Allies, while ignoring the principle of self-determination, then conscription cannot be avoided.

"The organized workers must say clearly, 'We have won the military victory, but we are not going to lose the peace,' and that we shall do if we allow the peace to be framed by Imperialists on a policy of aggrandizement, which would leave behind a feeling of bitterness. That would be merely the germ of another war." In denouncing the private manufacturer of armaments, Mr. Thomas told the workers it was no use talking about the vested interests of capitalists if they allowed a vested interest of workers in munition manufacture to continue.

The Future of Armenia.—

The Armenians are afraid of further massacres in the Transcaucasus. That unhappy region is divided into three republics—Georgia, Azerbaijan (which is Tartar) and Armenia. There are frontier disputes between them all, there are racial minorities in each, and there are fierce feuds, economic, racial and religious. A British force imposes some measure of restraint, but there is much disorder and no little murder. Two other circumstances intensify the evils—the uncertainty of the ultimate political destinies of the country, and the ravages of hunger and pestilence. Apart from the general causes which are delaying every settlement at Paris, there are two particular reasons for the delay in deciding the future of Armenia, the decision of which would carry with it a general settlement of Transcaucasia: differences as to which Power shall have the mandate, and differences as to what shall be the boundaries of the Armenian State.

Ireland and the Conference.—

It is a true instinct which draws the eyes and hopes of Ireland to the Conference. Hope dawns for her there, and a light is being set up which beyond all question will illumine her own case and set it forth to the world and to ourselves as never before. The plain fact is that the case of Ireland differs essentially in no way and no degree from the case of other oppressed nationalities, and it demands and must shortly receive a like remedy. Even Sir Edward Carson yesterday admitted that the present position cannot endure. "Everyone knew," he said, "that in some way or other" the question of Irish government "would have to be dealt with by the government at the end of the war." That does not carry us far, but it shows that the policy of mere negation is abandoned by its last defender. What is to take its place? That question was put with insistence by Mr. Devlin, but it met with no response. The Home Rule Act is law and its operation merely suspended till the end of the war and six months after. But it is perfectly true, as Sir Edward Carson remarked, that the Home Rule Act no longer suffices. Something a good deal more searching, a good deal more consistent, will have to take its place, and we shall have to place Ireland more nearly in the position of a self-governing Dominion than the Home Rule Act provides. There can be no disruption. That would be a policy of despair, and fruitful, in the long run, of calamity for Ireland as for ourselves. The Protestantism of the North of Ireland, its different mentality, its different industrial organization, must of course be considered, and the special interests they imply effectively protected. Nationalist Ireland has no objection to that; again and again, as Mr. Devlin reminded the House, she has offered every conceivable safeguard short of separation, which would involve only fresh injustice. And the problem, though no doubt serious, presents no great intrinsic difficulties. It is the same problem which exists and must be faced in almost all the newer and smaller nationalities of Europe, and it is absurd to suppose that it cannot be solved on similar principles. What has in the past made it so impossible of solution is not the differences among Irishmen, but the exasperation of those differences through the play of parties in England. That, we may hope, is over. The game of rebellion in Ulster is played out, and no longer shall we see defenders of law and order in this country lending themselves to the promotion of civil war across the water. Sir Edward Carson himself is something of an extinct volcano. All this is well. The night may be dark, but there are gleams of light in the sky.

France and the Left Bank of the Rhine.—

The *Temps,* Paris, has a novel idea of raising an Inter-Allied barrier between the French and the Germans east of the Rhine. The *Temps* says:

The need for the League of Nations is becoming more and more urgent, and in the present state of affairs France requires international organization in order to obtain all the guarantees which are indispensable to her security. The Inter-Allied Command has proposed that military forces should permanently occupy the Rhine district. In this case it would be necessary for the occupation to be carried out by the four Powers, with American and British troops by the side of French and Belgians.

If the United States Government, however, deem it impossible to leave their troops in Europe, and if Great Britain has not at its disposal effectives necessary to keep up garrisons on the Rhine, what decision could the French Government then adopt? For our troops to occupy indefinitely all the left bank of the Rhine and all the bridgeheads, with no support except from Belgian forces, would be a very heavy responsibility to lay upon the shoulders of France.

It is said that the occupation of the Rhine would be a guarantee for the debt owing to the Allies, but if the debt owing is a common one, why should we be the only ones to look after the debt? Why should not the governments of London and Washington, while including in the terms of the Peace Treaty their decision that the Rhine district should be strictly demilitarized, also add that any German aggression against France, Belgium or the Saar district would be considered as a declaration of war addressed by Germany to Great Britain and the United States? Why should not the British Parliament and the American Senate each sanction this decision in so far as it concerns them?

The Fate of Persia.—

The Paris correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian,* who is certainly the best informed and most influential journalist at the Conference, has done more to educate the world which waits for peace than any European statesman. Very little in the business of secret diplomacy escapes him. He says:

The Conference spent weeks in the sort of discussion that looks like a wrangle over national claims. Then it decided to send out a commission. Clearly, if a commission is to go it should go at once, but the weeks pass and nothing happens. No government is free from blame, for America, which has no selfish interest, has contributed to the delay by hesitation to take a mandate. The foreign ministers both of France and England belong by conviction and tradition to the old diplomacy, and one of them is notorious for his leisurely habits.

There is, I fear, a more sinister explanation of this superficial indifference. A Persian delegation is in Paris to demand the release of Persia from the restrictions of her independence imposed by Britain in concert with Russia. The last excuse has disappeared with the fall of the old Russian regime. It is clearly our duty to make amends now for our conduct to Persia before and during the war. Persia's case is unanswerable. As the *Temps* has declared, the Persian delegates have pointed out that if the League of Nations Covenant has any meaning, the concessions extorted from Persia must necessarily lapse. Is the British Government supporting the contention of the delegates, or is it using the fact that we have lent money to Persia as a pretext for claiming some special rights? The question is of immense importance to the whole Mussulman world, with the history of Egypt before its eyes.

The English People and the Depository of Power.—

The curtailment of the right of private members and the infringement of the rules of procedure of the House of Commons, reminds one of Disraeli's criticism in "Coningsby" of the changes made in the depository of power. It is well worth quoting from the remarkable dissertation on political power in that novel, for the modern American seldom appreciates the attitude of the English to those institutions which have been the creation of powerful minorities. Disraeli says:

"You will observe one curious trait," said Sidonia to Coningsby, "in the history of this country: the depository of power is always unpopular; all combine against it: it always falls. Power was deposited in the great Barons; the Church, using the King for its instrument, crushed the great Barons. Power was deposited in the Church; the King, bribing the Parliament, plundered the Church. Power was deposited in the King; the Parliament, using the People, beheaded the King, expelled the King, changed the King, and, finally, for a King substituted an administrative officer. For one hundred and fifty years Power has been deposited in the Parliament, and for the last sixty or seventy years it has been becoming more and more unpopular. In 1830 it was endeavored by a reconstruction to regain the popular affection; but, in truth, as the Parliament then only made itself more powerful, it has only become more odious. As we see that the Barons, the Church, the King, have in turn devoured each other, and that the Parliament, the last devourer, remains, it is impossible to resist the impression that this body also is doomed to be destroyed; and he is a sagacious statesman who may detect in what form and in what quarter the great consumer will arise."

The London *Spectator,* referring to the political situation, says that no observer can have felt anything but "the profoundest anxiety at the disconsideration into which the House of Commons has fallen." Then the writer adds:

The English people have never been sympathetic towards the depository of power. They have always disliked it, and always will dislike it. The possession of power is not an attribute which is to them endearing, or even awe-inspiring. Rather it is a cause of suspicion, an instigator to resistance.

In remarking this instinctive jealousy of power, we stumble indeed against the fact which Napoleon noted when, with an acumen which one feels he had hardly the right to possess, he declared that the difference between the English and the French was that the French cared a great deal for equality and nothing for liberty, while the English were indifferent to equality but valued liberty above everything else. It is because of this intense feeling in regard to his liberty of action that the Englishman is so consistently jealous of the wielder of supreme power. He is always fearful lest his freedom should be infringed. To tell him that it will only be infringed for his good seldom pacifies him.

Let us hope there may be a revival in our country which will place once more the value of liberty above everything else.

Sufferings of Bohemia.—

A special correspondent at Prague writes that the situation in Bohemia is so serious that the Czecho-Slovaks are threatened with the disastrous consequences of a complete famine. Prague, whose normal population is about six hundred thousand, now counts between nine hundred thousand and one million inhabitants, and this sudden influx has created extraordinary difficulties in providing food for everyone. The last reserves of flour and other bread constituents will be exhausted within a few weeks. There is a complete lack of meat. The deficiency in potatoes is estimated to be nearly 300,000 tons. Rice, coffee, tea and other foodstuffs have disappeared from the country.

The mortality rate at Prague among children under fourteen years of age attains the appalling figure of 40 per cent, as compared with approximately 10 per thousand in normal times. The mortality rate among child-bearing women has increased from 3 per cent to 34 per cent.

Germany and Foreign Languages.—

The Bishop of Salford (Dr. Casartelli), in the course of a paper on "The Study of Foreign Languages," read to the members of the Manchester Statistical Society, recalled that in previous papers he introduced to English readers the remarkable movement which was then taking place in Germany—the establishment of the "Seminary for Oriental Languages" in Berlin, a distinct effort on the part of Bismarck to extend German diplomatic and commercial influence in the East. The work of the seminary undoubtedly played a great part in the extraordinary development of German trade and influence throughout Asia and Africa during the quarter of a century which followed its establishment. But it was only during the course of the great war that, as the outcome of a Treasury Committee, a Royal Charter of June, 1916, established the School of Oriental Studies in London. The Bishop gave a description of the work of the school, which provides teaching in about forty languages.

The Policewoman in London.—

Very little has so far been heard about the Metropolitan Police women patrols, on whose appointment Sir Nevil Macready decided soon after he became Commissioner of Police, but I have learned that the first twenty-one fully trained women have been on duty in the London streets for exactly a month. Another twenty have nearly completed their three months' training at Peel House, where they are going through a regular course of first aid, drill and instruction, under the ordinary police instructors.

When complete this force—which is to be regarded for the first year as more or less experimental—will consist of a superintendent, assistant superintendent, ten sergeants, and a hundred policewomen. They are not to have the power of arrest. This is a point that has been much debated by women's societies, and it has often been urged that power of arrest is essential, but the other view has prevailed, that the women should concentrate on preventive work and try to influence the girls.

The general procedure is this. A policewoman sees a girl behaving in an indiscreet or provocative manner and has a kindly talk with her, which very often is quite effective. A second talk, if necessary, is of a cautionary character. The girl's name and address is taken down in the patrol book, and if, later on, the policeman has to take action, this record may be referred to. It is pointed out that if the policewoman had the power to arrest she would have to exercise that power on occasions where now she finds a caution quite enough.

FRANCIS NEILSON.

THE STUDY TABLE

*READINGS FROM GREAT AUTHORS. This volume is the result of the co-laboration of John Haynes Holmes, Minister of The Church of the Messiah, New York, Harvey Dee Brown, Associate Minister of Church of the Messiah, of Helen E. Redding and Theodora Goldsmith. The selections in it are arranged for responsive reading in public assemblies as well as for private use in schools and homes. In bringing forth this collection of readings the authors have acted in response to a conviction with which most readers of UNITY will quite agree, namely, "that the Christian Bible is only a part of the sacred literature of the race, and that other material from great writers of ancient and modern times may well be adapted in our day for ritual uses as the Psalms of David were adapted in former days." With the first part of this statement agreement will be unanimous. Regarding the second part some practical difficulties appear.

We can not fail to feel with Dr. Holmes that many parts of the Psalms are ill-adapted to our use today, because they breathe an air of individualism, while we live in the day of the social conscience. In them religious feeling finds expression in terms that belong to Monarchy, while we live in a time of Democracy. So far they do not serve well the needs of our day.

Yet when we turn from these to the words of the writers here presented, as Buddha, Seneca, Marcus Aurelius, Tolstoi, H. G. Wells, John Galsworthy, Rabindranath Tagore, Emerson, Whitman, Lowell, Wordsworth, Tennyson, Browning, Lincoln, Mazzini, Woodrow Wilson, H. D. Lloyd, and Henry George; we follow the lines with a feeling that seldom does religious expression in these words ascend to the heights of the aspiration and devotion of those words which have through the centuries brought help to the hearts of men. This may be in part just because we have been accustomed to the words of the Psalms all our lives; but there is something deeper. Few of the modern writers from whom selections are made or could be made, have lived the meditative life which marked the sages of ancient Israel, nor have they participated in the national suffering in the midst of which these ancient writers lived. Moreover the ancient Psalms are more like a slow distillation from the experiences of a great people, than the work on or of a few authors. They are like our national hymns, the expression of the common life.

But Dr. Holmes and his co-laborers have boldly stepped out in the direction in which we surely need to move, in the frank recognition of a growing scripture, a ritual which is modified by the spirit of the times, which is created by and in the service of the ideals of our own age. They will not be disappointed if others follow slowly, for they can not do other without injury to the very spirit which these readings are made to serve.

But in these readings we have something more than a list of readings for public meetings. We have a book which we are glad to have at hand for private meditation and for use in small groups. Herein great ideals and aspirations find beautiful expression; in reading which our own ideals and aspiration grow stronger.

**Readings from Great Authors,* John Haynes Holmes, Harvey Dee Brown, Helen E. Redding, and Theodora Goldsmith; Dodd Mead and Company, New York; fifty cents.

THE FIELD

"The World is my country, to do good is my Religion"

LITERARY NOTES.

B. W. Huebsch, publisher, announces his removal to 32 West 58th Street.

Perhaps no volume of native plays has equalled the success of "Wisconsin Plays," of which a third printing is announced. The contributions are unusually good, Zona Gale's "The Neighbors" being the most popular for amateur production. The other plays are by William Ellery Leonard and Thomas H. Dickinson. A second volume, known as "Wisconsin Plays, Second Series," also on American themes by American writers, is finding favor.

It looks as if Norman Angell's new book, "The British Revolution and the American Democracy," might become his most widely read work since "The Great Illusion." Published in March by B. W. Huebsch, April calls for a second edition. It is exceedingly timely because it treats informatively of the universal industrial unrest and provides the basic facts for an understanding of the events in the British labor world. And there is some sound sense regarding "Bolshevism."

The many people who have treasured "How Diplomats Make War" as a guide to the devious ways of statesmen, will respond with interest to the announcement that a new book by Francis Neilson is to be brought out by B. W. Huebsch in the near future.

THE RESTATEMENT OF FAITH.

In a little book recently published which I have been reading this week I came upon this arresting sentence: "If we who are Christians conceived of Christianity as the great mass of the youth of our country conceived of it we should not be Christians." The author of the book is the Rev. Dr. David S. Cairns and it is entitled "The Reasonableness of the Christian Faith." Dr. Cairns is well known to many readers by an earlier book, "Christianity in the Modern World"; and during recent years the sterling quality of his work as a Christian teacher and apologist, especially in connection with the Student Christian Movement, has brought fresh honor to a name that is still held in proud and affectionate regard throughout all Scotland. The sentence from his pen which I have just quoted should be laid to heart by every responsible Christian teacher; it sets down, in terse and simple fashion, a fact of which many of us have of late been growing painfully and increasingly conscious. Nothing has impressed and saddened me more, in the books written by chaplains which have come my way, than the revelations which they give of the tragic failure of the average soldier, who represents, of course, the average man, to understand Christianity. He is continually mistaking things that matter only a little, or which do not matter at all, for that which matters everything, and because in his mind Christ's religion is identified with beliefs which for him are impossible, or with ideals of conduct which seem to him unworthy, he condemns it or stands aloof from it, even when, as sometimes happens, he is all the time paying it secret and unconscious homage.

"Fundamental questions," says Dr. Cairns, "are up at last." And he is glad that it is so; let Christian teachers learn how to deal with these, and "the Divine Word of Revelation has some chance of coming to its own again." It is with "fundamental questions" that this little book is concerned. I shall not attempt to summarize its argument; it is packed close enough already—as is the way of these Aberdeen professors; it must be studied and restudied as it stands. This only let me say, their argument is never "in the air"; Dr. Cairns wastes no time slaying the thrice slain, neither is his wrestling with imaginary foes. He knows the modern mind as it reveals itself both in the classroom and in the camp, and he is not afraid of it; he knows Christianity, and he is not afraid for it; if only the modern mind can be brought to understand Christianity he has no doubt what the result will be.

This is his task—and ours: to interpret Christianity in the terms of our own generation, to make faith reasonable to reasonable men. Honest minds, George Eliot says, "are bound to accept no formula which their whole souls—their intellect as well as their emotions—do not embrace with entire reverence." And to that, I hope, we shall all heartily agree. Believers and sceptics alike, we are all bound to have no make-believe. But for the Christian teacher this involves, of necessity, the continual readjusting of his message to the changing intellectual environment in which he lives and in which his work has to be done. We may scoff as we will at this or that man's "new theology"—and sometimes, perhaps, that is the best it deserves,—but like every other science, theology lives only on this stern condition that it is being continually renewed. To ignore this and to content ourselves with the thought-forms of a bygone day simply means, in a world like ours, that we shall soon find ourselves talking to deaf ears and unresponsive minds.

G. J. in the Manchester Guardian.

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That the selections are well chosen, does not need to be argued. The authorship guarantees that. There is such a variety of subjects—Self-reliance, Friendship, The Soul, The Free Soul, Justice, The Social Conscience, The Coming Peace, Truth and Freedom, Faith, The Task of Happiness, Death and Immortality, Self-Control—that one can find here beautiful expression of nearly every great aspiration.

Therefore while we may not discard the Psalms and similar language of the soul's devotions, we shall find added help in such collections as those given in this volume. Our confessions of faith will be more real, more potent in life if we do not fail to supplement the older statements by such words as the following from Tennyson, in the selection on "Faith":

There lives more faith in honest doubt, believe me, than in half the creeds.

Men may arise on stepping stones of their dead selves to higher things. . . .

Come, my friends, 'tis not too late to seek a newer world; to follow knowledge like a sinking star beyond the utmost bound of human thought.

Though much is taken, much abides.

That which we are, we are; one equal temper of heroic hearts,

Strong in will to strive, to seek, to find and not to yield.

HARRY FOSTER BURNS.

A LONDON OPINION

Spoken March 23, 1919

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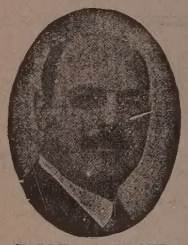

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Jenkin Lloyd Jones, Editor 1880-1918

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(*For particulars see page 118*)

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